/296 cont./

* 171 532 535 [538] to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakaïrí have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The meaning of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of certain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the wearers imitate their voices."

* 171 123 532 We did not observe anything that would permit us to conclude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order. They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a pretty toy.

● 529 Among the docile Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I, with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things. I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time," he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate; in the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.•

•"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages is the occasion for the festival," says Martius, "but where European custom has asserted itself and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day will probably be chosen for it."

/297 cont./

B
527 According to everything that the natives told us about the
535 festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were
773 riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the
*[191] origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B
527 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening
535 they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house
539 Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B
T
527 A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that
535 the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal
628 custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals.
648 Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In
B
*[191] 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B
*191 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances
197 that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and
535 dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/299 cont./

* 171 535 5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakaïrí, Auetó, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

* 171 532 535 6. Wooden masks. Square wooden plates with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on: natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax; the latter, like the former, again of human shape. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, Auetó, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A transitional form between 5 and 6, without the forehead bulge and oval, among the Auetó.

Fig. 90. Imeo dancer. Bakaïrí.

* 171 ●527 535 [177] In the masked festivals borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, and Trier also have, in their carnival societies, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different slogans, and different motifs for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women rigorously guard

/300 cont./

*171 ●527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

[462] [262] [272]

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanári zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

[532] [533]

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-âhá yumáa ohú..... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

/320 cont./

*171 532 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakaïrí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted, it was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 825 [529] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuí dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285 piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241 mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824 jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782 as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643 tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

526 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*skipiri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*potdri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pidto*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *tosdundo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to put the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pidto* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairi also organized wrestling matches called *taddinpudlli*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

527 796 Among the Bacairi ceremonialism was highly developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

534 The musical instruments of the Bacairi consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pdko*) and piqui

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kunagóru* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kunagóru* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kudoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *taddówu* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigóru* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapuri* in some of their dances.

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ertko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *paloewdto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yewesiadri*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *makalawdri*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiawdto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*awjéiatsbiwli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoíti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoíti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man to man asking for a song leader. The man who 527 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawiadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

The *ranaegiro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinadito* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *makalawdri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [529] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

296 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikima*. This